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As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

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Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalist did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

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By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced, 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either

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stress on physical exercise can not take the place of an adequate diet. 871 744

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thoughtreform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed. 871

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nation-wide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Central-South China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

The development of kindergartens in the Central-South China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists. Although complete information on the present situation in this region is not available, the development on Kwangtung Province may serve as an indication. The operation of 872

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kindergartens in Kwangtung had hitherto been unsystematic. The Communist claimed that their policy to standardize the kindergartens resulted in the establishment in Kwangtung Province of 54 such schools, with a total enrollment of 7,373 children by the end of September 1954.[26] However, this claim did not tally with a survey conducted at the end of 1954, which reported that in the city of Canton 117 kindergartens with a total enrollment of 20,710 children were in operation.[27] The survey also revealed that the kindergarten situation in Canton in 1954 was about four times better than that in 1949. Although claiming success, the Communists in Central-South China released no statistics on the total number of kindergartens and their enrollment in this region as a whole.

The development of primary schools received prompter attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The Communist policy has been to strengthen the "complete" primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government

26. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 932, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, November 20-22, 1954, p. 12.

27. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, June 21, 1955, p. 6.

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supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments. In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. In Central-South China, the first such indoctrination course was scheduled in September 1951 and was to last eight months.[29] During this period the schoolmasters were expected to learn Marxian theories and Peking's policies of education. Between October and November 1951 in the city of Wuhan, over 5,000 primary school teachers received political training.[30] Similar programs of indoctrination for primary school teachers were in progress in other areas in Central-South China at about the same time.

The number of primary schools in this region showed no immediate increase after the Communists' seizure of power. In fact, the change of administration and the reorganization of schools brought about the consolidation of many schools; thus for a short

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 575-76.
29. People's Education, December 1951, p. 12.
30. Slave Education of the Chinese Communists, p. 66.

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period the total number of schools in this region was reduced. Subsequent expansion, according to a Communist report,[31] brought the number of schools in the province of Kwangtung to 19,653, with a total enrollment of 3,130,000 students, by September 1954. The municipality of Canton in the same year claimed[32] that the number of primary school students had doubled since 1949.

The trained political cadres who were sent to rural areas to establish primary schools reported a shortage of supplies and a lack of financial support. At the same time, the Central-South China press printed a number of accounts of "the glorious success" of these Party-assigned schoolmasters who struggled hard to win the support of the villagers.[33]

The emphasis in primary school education in Central-South China followed the national pattern to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for one's own country with a socialist slant. Thus in a history course, the students were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that he offered advice to kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[34] A language teacher in Changsha was criticized by the local Party cadre

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31. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 932, p. 12.

32. China Daily News, New York, June 21, 1955, p. 6.

33. One of these vivid accounts tells how a new young schoolmaster won over the opposition of a "reactionary" village head in Honan Province. See People's Education, July 1952, p. 37.

34. Ibid., January 1952, p. 52.

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for expressing petit bourgeois "sentimentalism" when he said he was sorry to see his students graduate.[35] For a while some primary schools in Central-South China employed the method of group discussion to teach political subjects, but this was discouraged by higher authorities,[36] because, it was said, primary school pupils were not sufficiently mature to benefit from open discussions. Primary schools at T'ang-yin in Honan Province and Changsha in Hunan Province were cited as model schools where students were taught to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation.[37] Some of these primary schools insisted that the parents agree it was as noble and desirable to have their children upon graduation participate in productive labor as to send them to the schools of higher education.

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B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in Central-South China were submitted to the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization in accordance with the Communist policy for education. Incomplete

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35. Ibid., May 1952, p. 54.
36. Ibid., January 1952, p. 50.
37. Wo-men Shih Tsen-yang Chin-hsing Lao-tung Chiao-yü Ti [How We Carry Out Labor-Education], Shanghai, Hsin chih-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1955, pp. 15-21, 51-61, 62-66.